Gresham's Hawaiian Letter Riddled by Mr. C. L. Carter.

Every Paragraph of the Document Punched Full of Holes by the Gifted Ex-Commissioner.

ITS MANY UNTRUTHS EXPOSED

And Blount's Unfair Methods in Honolulu Pointed Out.

Clear and Concise History of Events in Hawaii Given by a Leader of the Revolution.

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 13.-Following is an open letter on the Hawalian question to Secretary Gresham by ex-Commissioner Charles L. Carter, who visited the United States shortly after the revolution in the interests of the provisional government: HONOLULU, H. I., Nov. 30.

"To the Honorable W. Q. Gresham, Secretary of State, Washington: "Sir-With the consent of the government an opportunity to cross-examine them. As which I had the honor to serve as special it was there were two attempts at incencommissioner to the United States, I have the honor to address you, in reply to your dispatch to the President, dated Oct. 18, containing recommendations that the treaty of annexation be not resubmitted and suggesting the restoration of what you term the legitimate government of Hawail, by which you mean the monarchy in the person of the ex-Queen Liliuokalani. You will pardon me making this communication public, and I beg you to attribute my action to the apparent disinclination in your department to a full exposition of the matter

bearing on our question, which has been at your disposal. "I regret that up to the time of our latest advices my distinguished colleague, the chairman of the special commission, Mr. Thurston, has been constrained by his present position as representative of this government near your own from making any public declarations. This fact, and because after your installation in the Department of State, until shortly before Mr. Thurston's appointment as minister, I was the only representative of Hawaii actually in Washington, give me freedom to speak and qualify me to address you on some of the matters in your dispatch. Your communication to the President contains twenty-seven paragraphs and charges which I can meet, and which, in this, my first and probably only opportunity, I shall refute.

shall, for convenience, take them up in

THE QUEEN'S WRONG-DOING. "Paragraph 1-You aver therein that the opposition of her ministers and others induced the Queen speedily to change her purpose of proclaiming a new constitution and that she made public announcement of the fact. The fact is that, after a most violent altercation with her Ministry, the Queen publicly announced that for the present she deferred action on the matter of a new constitution. It was pretended that she wished to take the action as a consequence of a petition to that effect by her native subjects. Credible persons present in the throne room during almost the whole of that Saturday afternoon, state that the humble petitioners waited with their unread petition up to the time that the Queen made her declaration of postponement, and that she had not read the document, which has ince disappeared. The evidence obtainable ndicates that the proposed constitution, by its terms, was an aggression upon the constitutional rights of the white residents of Hawaii, whether born here of parents also of Hawaiian birth as I was, or settled and established here by long residence. No an-nouncement of an absolute change of purose was made until Monday, two day later, when her advisers, discovering that the popular wave of indignation was sweeping toward the throne, hoped to stay the just wrath of the people. Should not the Queen's other political crimes of that same Saturday be considered by you? Was there nothing offensive not only to us but to your people in the lottery and opium bills? Nothing characteristic in the disappearance of the Chinese registration act? These things and the removal of the Jones-Wilcox Cabinet are part of the nation's charge against her. For my own part I can never forget or forgive the spectacle of the deciding vote in favor of the lottery bill—a member, who, up to that date, was pledged against the measure, too drunk to hold up his head during the debate, with a wreath of flowers about his neck, said, at the time. of flowers about his neck, said, at the time, to have been placed there by the ex-Queen at the moment of his promise to support her plans, after having been plied by her with flans, after having been plied by her with intoxicanting drink; voting unsteadily in favor of indefinite postponement until corrected by his neighbors, because he had promised to vote "yes" and was not in fit condition to follow the course of legislative action. Her offenses cannot be brushed aside in a paragraph, nor recited in one. "Paragraph 2—The meeting in Honolulu which appointed the committee of public safety, on my motion to that effect, con-sisted of those persons who had gathered at the call of her Majesty's Cabinet and had pledged their lives, in writing, in defense of that Cabinet against the proposed aggression of the Queen, the members of that Cabinet having made an appeal for support, stating that they could not rely upon the constituted civil and military forces whose leaders were pledged to support the Queen and assist her in promulgating a new constitution. That committee was appointed less than fifteen minutes after John F. Colburn, the Queen's Minister of the Interior, had concluded an address to a meeting by saying: 'Gentlemen, we recognize that as a Cabinet we have absolutely no support; if you will stand by us we will stand by you,' and for the express purpose of assisting that Cabinet in protecting the public against the regular military and police, who were recognized as opposed to the peaceable and orderly el-

"Paragraph 3-The committee of public safety held its formal meeting immediately after its appointment, the representative body of citizens upon whose resolution it had been nominated withdrawing for the express purpose of allowing it to hold an immediate session, and the sessions continued almost without interruption until the organization of the provisional government was proclaimed on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 17th.

ement of the community.

GRESHAM'S "ALIENS." "Paragraph 4-The aliens referred to, who appointed the committee of public safety, and from among whom that committee was chosen, and who constituted the mass meeting of Monday afternoon, the 16th, were, it is true, not all of Hawaiian birth; were not all men who had amassed fortunes here, but every individual was of undoubted integrity and a bona-fide resident of these islands, pledged to the country's welfare and fully mindful of the native aborigines, whose united interests and actions made them a body which might well have shaken a more stable throne. "Paragraph 5-I have no reason to doubt the veracity of the statements in this paragraph, and, in addition thereto, I ask you, in justice not only to the living, but to one of your country's distinguished dead, to explain that while Mr. Stevens, the Saturday before he had consented to allow the Queen's Cabinet to use your forces as against her and those behind her; when that Cabinet violated its pledge and clove again to her Majesty and her cause, that he positively declined to allow the committee of public safety, which then became a revolutionary body, any support or assistance, and that that was the understanding of the committee of public safety from noon of

ly 9 o'clock that evening that they secured and were installed in Arion Hall. It was midnight before even hasty and inadequate sanitary precautions for their comfort were completed. I know of my own knowledge that attempts were made by the minister and Captain Wiltse to secure other accommodations for the men, which were refused and that no attempts were made to secure any accommodations until after the troops were landed and the necessity for their re-maining on shore over night became apparent. The old armory might possibly have been used, but that had already been secured from its owners as a rendezvous for the revolutionary forces of the committee of public safety, although circum-stances which arose later, to which I will refer, rendered the very moderate use of

itself sufficient for the purposes of the provisional government.
"Paragraph 7—That there was no particular reason for locating the forces at that place ought to be apparent to you from the fact that, as soon as the commodious premies the commodious premies that the commodious premies the commodi ises, afterward known as 'Camp Boston,' could be arranged, the men were moved. Can it possibly be your idea that the main body of troops, landed under general instructions from the distinguished predecessors in your present office, of your own political party forms. political party, for protection of American interests, should have been stationed at some great distance from the probable scene of violence? They were wisely and centrally located in the only available shel-

Paragraphs 8 and 9-Concerning the alleged correspondence between the minister of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Stevens, and his allegedly evasive replies, I have no knowledge of which I may make use here, but information on these points is available to you and you have the right to use it.

FALSE STATEMENTS REFUTED.

"Paragraph 10-That there were no mani-

festations of excitement or alarm in the city on that Monday night was due to the fact that the American troops were on the shore. Up to the moment of their landing the agitation and uncertainty was intense. If any of Mr. Blount's witnesses have made statements to the contrary, I should like in different parts of the city, which, but for the prompt appearance of Lieutenant Swinburne and a squad of men, might have increased to alarming propor-tions. To imply in the same paragraph of your report that the committee of public safety entered the government building as soon as the forces were landed is grossly misleading, and had you given me the opportunity, which I so frequently asked in Washington, of making a detailed statement of the country of the country asked in the country of the country asked in the country of the country asked in the country of th ment of the occurrences of that time I cannot believe you would have fallen into the error. The troops landed at 5 o'clock on Monday, the 16th, and the committee of public safety seized the government building at 3 o'clock on Tuesday, nearly twenty-four laters. It was I who entered the building half an hour before the committee, because it had been rumored that there was a guard concealed therein. I found none. There were eight government officials and clerks in the building, which ordinarily teemed with Ministers, judges and some forty or fifty officials and clerks. I was told that the Cabinet had left the building. The Queen's adherents had nei-ther the character nor the ability to resist. I was afterward told by Marhsal C. B. Wilson, then in charge of the Queen's civil forces, that the Queen's advisers had left the building because they were afraid of their lives, well knowing that to be the point the revolutionary forces would at-tack, and that but for their cowardice or their treachery, the Marshal did not know which, in refusing to allow him to send a guard to that building, we would not so easily have secured possession; that he had concealed ammunition in the Foreign Office, which was, indeed, afterward found there, and that it was his purpose to send men there prepared to use it. The preclamation was read as soon as the building was sur-rounded, by the highest official in charge thereof, and as soon as the order of the provisional government calling for support from loyal citizens was issued, 150 or more armed and determined supporters, who had rendezvoused at the old armory, marched to the building, and were stationed as guards to defend and protect the new government. While they were gathering there was some anxiety and Mr. Damon asked me to seek out Captain Wiltse and ask for an armed force. I objected, because we well knew that we could expect no such as-sistance, but finally went, and was not surprised when Captain Wiltse peremptorily

WILSON WANTED TO FIGHT. "Paragraph 11-It is suspicious because the revolutionary party, confident of the support of the community at large, in possession of the principal government building and treasury, finding itself unopposed, after ample notice had been given and time for attack had elapsed, should have assumed and undertaken to inform other representatives of foreign governments, as set forth in this paragraph, that the monarchy had been abrogated and the provisional government established. The prompt recognition of the new status from all foreign representatives ought to satisfy you on this oint. The adherents of the Queen, when the building was seized, huddled themselves into the police station, and I learn from the Queen's marshal, C. B. Wilson, whom you describe as a resolute, capable officer, who tells me that he made the same statement to Mr. Blount that there was a violent difference between himself and the Queen's Cabinet as to which should have control of her cause; that they prevailed and refused to allow him to make any attack upon the revolutionists or to resist when the demand for the sur-"Paragraph 12-Before any recognition had come, while I was present in the chamber in which President Dole had es-

tablished himself, Mr. Pringle, one of the junior officers of the Boston, obtained admittance and stated that he was Mr. Stevens's aid and had been sent to ascertain by personal observation whether the provisional government was in fact in pos-session and established as set forth in its request for recognition.
"Paragraph 13—How soon after this event, which was somewhere in the neightion acknowledged by Mr. Dole, as set forth in this paragraph, was made I do not know. This was the status. The Queen's Cabinet, in response to a demand for the surrender of the station house, had sought an interview with Mr. Dole, which was readily granted. After some parley, in which their absurd proposition that their forces and those of the provisional government combine to keep the peace during the night was refused they had acquiesced and surrendered, making a verbal protest against the provisional government, which it was agreed should be extended later. They had asked that Mr. Damon accompany them to the palace in order that they might explain the surrender to the Queen. Mr. Damon had not returned. The request for the support of the United States forces, contained in Mr. Dole's letter, of itself should indicate that up to that moment there had been no such support and, furthermore, was intended only for that night and for the purpose of patrolling the town. Can it be possible that you have not been informed

that the reply to that request was a sec-ond absolute refusal from Captain Wiltse? LILIUOKALANI'S TRICK. "Paragraphs 14, 15 and 16-The Queen's protest was a quibbling trick, which now makes clear to many of us what we then considered her cowardly surrender. Marshal Wilson assured me in an interview in May last, and told me he had given Mr. Commissioner Blount the same assurance, that he knew, while in charge of the station house that day, that the American troops would not and could not interfere; that he had this knowledge from Captain Wiltse; that he urged an immediate attack upon the revolutionary government and demanded to be put in control of the Queen's forces; that her Cabinet was paralyzed by fear of their personal safety and declined to allow it. Learning that the Queen had indicated her intention to surrender, he sent her a message at 11 o'clock and another at 1 o'clock advising her by no means to yield: that he was finally notified by her that she had surrendered, and that he must deliver up possession of the station house, which he did. The protest of Queen Liliuokalani was accepted with indifference, as indicating her objections to retiring from that power which she had so ruthlessly abused, and which she had hoped to increase by violence until it became absolute. That the "Paragraph 6-I saw the troops landed at tricksters who prepared it for her signature incorporated therein a wanton lie op-

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government, and is no bar to its onward progress toward liberty and clean government. National affairs, Mr. Secretary, are not controlled as are litigations in courts of law. The acceptance of the protest by the provisional government without express denial of its contents does not preclude them from establishing and maintaining the mighty truths that inspired their cause. Furthermore, I am sorry that you have not heard that that morning, at 7 o'clock, Mr. Damon went to her Majesty, courageously renounced his allegiance and told her he had consented to join a movement which had for its object the abrogation of the monarchy, to which she replied that she had learned of the movement, had been advised, and had decided to submit. This is the circumstance which made the old armory superfluous as a rendezvous and justified the committee of public safety in seizing the government building without

an armed force. "Paragraph 17-The examination of the whole of Secretary Foster's communication of Feb. 15 to the President will prove that your scanty quotation is inconsistent with the facts, and the statement, if made, was never made for the purpose of deceiving or concealing the truth. The open candor with which Mr. Foster conducted his share in the negotiations for annexation is in marked contrast to the reticence that has prevailed for the past few months, and is no such purpose.

sufficient guarantee that he could have had DIDN'T WANT THE TRUTH. "Paragraphs 18 and 19-You speak of the special commissioners sent to Washington by the provisional government to negotiate the treaty of annexation, and you say, Their statements are utterly at variance with the evidence, documentary and oral, contained in Mr. Blount's report.' These commissioners had no opportunity from you to make any statements. You absolutely and persistently evaded any opportunity for that purpose. Commissioners Wilder and Marshen were the first to leave Washington, which they did about the time of inauguration. Mr. Castle stayed but a few days longer, having but one interview with you, in which you declined to say whether or not you cared to have the commissioners as a body remain in Washington. When Mr. Castle left Mr. Thurston went to Chicago, and I was alone in Washington, where I remained for two months. You constantly declined to allow me an interview for the purpose of making a statement for the commissioners or on behalf of the provisional government. At the interviews which we did have you pointedly evaded all attempts which I made at giving you a statement, once going so far as to interrupt me by rising from your seat, excusing yourself and abruptly leaving the room. The day that the news reached Washington of the lowering of the flag, I called upon you and asked you if the report were true. You stated that you had no offi-cial information on the subject, but assumed that the newspaper dispatches were correct, and asked me if, in my opinion, the course followed by Mr. Blount would be likely to lead to bloodshed or violence in Honolulu. I replied to you that the provisional government was amply able to take care of itself, and that there would | which should not relate to both white and be no danger unless the lowering of the flag | native residents. My own opinion was always freely given that until universal suf- ington street, next to Lee's tea store.

erates as no estoppel upon the provisional of the Queen. You stated positively that I frage could be restored there should be there was no intention of restoring the Queen, a statement which you repeated at one of my last interviews with you, at the same time that you told me that you expected Commissioner Blount to return to Washington in June. "Paragraph 20-Be good enough, Mr. Secretary, to give Admiral Skerrett an opportunity to explain whether he ever made the bald statement so ruthlessly condemning the action of one of your naval commanders. Otherwise, what I have already said disposes of Paragraphs 21 and 22. "Paragraph 23-You speak of earnest appeals to the American minister for protec-tion by the officers of the provisional government and consider them a confession of weakness and timidity. The fact that we continued without that aid, after it had been twice refused after we were in possession, ought to show you that that band was composed of 'courageous men, conscious of their strength and the righteousness of their cause.'

> THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION. "Paragraph 24-You state that it is now claimed 'that the majority of the people who had the right of voting under the constitution of 1887 have never favored the idea of annexation to this or to any other government.' You now approach the ground upon which I admit you have the right to speak, and concerning which this government confidently assumed and was allowed to believe Mr. Blount was to report. You repeat statements by Mr. Blount that he did not meet a single annexationist in Honolulu who expressed willingness to submit the question to a vote of the people, or one who did not insist that if the islands should be annexed that suffrage should be restricted. In one of the interviews with ou, in which a few hasty expressions were allowed me, you did ask how I thought the vote on the question of annexation would result. Do you recollect my answer? I told you, on behalf of the commission and the government which I represented, the natives were children; that they had even violently opposed the reciprocity treaty with your government until more than a year of prosperity led them to acquiesce; that if the question of the monarchy were left out the country would be unanimously for annexation; that if the issue of annexation or monarchy were left to the people the result would probably be very close; that I would not like to predict precisely which way it would go, but that I desired to be candid, and would confess that, owing to the dangerous element of low whites who had the right to vote, and who in recent years had acquired great influence over the Hawaiians, the probable result might be slightly in favor of the monarchy, but I said to you, If you test the question by the brains, intelligence and property of the community, instead of by counting noses, annexation would prevail overwhelmingly.' These, however, are matters which have absolutely nothing to do with whether or not the monarchy was deposed by the active intervention of officers of your country. Furthermore, there has never been any official statement to your government, and you have not the right to make the provisional government responsible for any other question of future suf-

frage that has suggested any restriction

none in Hawaii for anyone. "Paragraph 25-In this you dispose of the question of annexation, and the remaining two paragraphs suggest the restoration of the monarchy. I regret exceedingly that neither you nor Mr. Blount ever listened to any statement from me of events from Jan. 14 to 17. My own part in the revolu-tion was inconspicuous, but I was fortu-nate in being present at almost every step that led to the establishment of the provisional government, and feel amply qualifled to give an accurate account of them. "With assurances of the highest consideration, I have the honor to be your obedient servant, CHARLES L. CARTER."

MAY NOT PLAY AGAIN.

Rosina Vokes, the Gifted Actress, a Victim of Rapid Consumption.

NEW YORK, Dec. 13.-Rosina Vokes is confined to her room in the St. James Hotel, and, for most of the time, to her bed. She is a very sick woman, and the fact that she has continued to play until last Saturday, when she fainted on the stage in Washington, is a tribute to her remarkable will power rather than to her strength. Her disease is rapid consumption, and it is playing sad havoc with the popular actress. Her husband, Cecil Clay, is a constant attendant at her side, and she has the best care that money can command. Mr. and Mrs. Clay will sail for England, Saturday, if Mrs. Clay rallies sufficiently to be moved to the steamer. The Rosina Vokes company has been disbanded and all of its members, with the exception of M. Marius, are now in this city without an engagement. Clarence Fleming. who has been Miss Vokes's manager for the past nine years, said to-day: "She has continued acting without rest against the advice of her friends, and the result was foreseen a long while ago. Four years ago I tried to induce her to confine her work to alternate years, but she would not hear of it. She has kept on playing for the sake of keeping her company together until her strength has utterly given out, and it is not at all probable that she will ever play

Thinking Thoughts.

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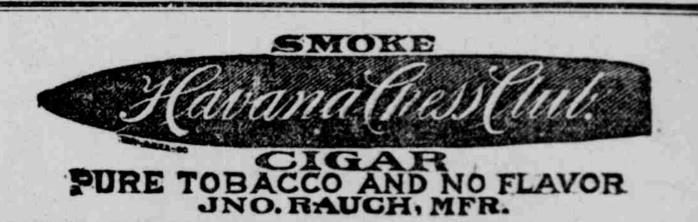
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